

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
PARLIAMENTARY CONDUCT
OF THE
RIGHT HON. JOHN FOSTER.

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ON THE

PARLIAMENTARY CONDUCT

OF THE

Right Hon. JOHN FOSTER;

AS ALSO ON THE

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

THE VOLUNTEERS,

AND

ROMAN CATHOLICS

OF

I R E L A N D.

BY A PRIVATE GENTLEMAN.

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MONDAY 23rd

TUESDAY 24th

WEDNESDAY 25th

THURSDAY 26th

FRIDAY 27th

SATURDAY 28th

SUNDAY 29th

MONDAY 30th

TUESDAY 31st

WEDNESDAY 1st

THURSDAY 2nd

FRIDAY 3rd

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RIGHT HON. JOHN FOSTER.

MEN of wisdom and experience have frequently observed, that Mankind have been too long imposed on by falsehood; and that in order to come at the knowledge of truth, and to distinguish it, from amidst the clouds of fiction and error, it is necessary to lay aside passion and prejudice, which have too frequently precipitated the best understandings to acts of folly and destruction.

IN vain have great and eminent men laboured to make people sensible
of

of their errors. The prejudices derived from education, and the impressions of example too frequently remain indelible; thus the intention of Providence, and the natural tendency of human nature are perverted. Erroneous ideas and false principles perpetuate animosity and opposition between people of different opinions. Avarice and interest, though they are very powerful incentives of human actions, cannot however be admitted to influence men to extraordinary and unaccountable opposition, so that every individual of them should maintain falsehood against conviction. Hence, there must be something that blinds mens understandings, and disposes them to an incapacity of discerning the errors which they obstinately maintain for truth, and to become dupes of designing men.

THE cause which eclipses mens reason, and leads honest and worthy men astray, is acknowledged often to be confused ideas, which by custom are so intimately blended in their minds,

minds, that they cannot easily be separated.

TIME often cures affections and prejudices of the mind, which reason, though acknowledged to be in the right, cannot effect, or prevail with those, who attend to, and exercise it in other cases.

UNTHINKING people, “ *Homines vani et leves, quemadmodum vasa inania, facillime auribus prebensi ducuntur,*” have of late been made instruments of, and propelled to dangerous lengths; they have been impressed with ideas of danger, and alarmed without a substantial cause, to serve the ends and designs of incendiaries. “ *Perinde est lethale venenum bibere ex aureo poculo, et consilium ex amico perfido capere.*”

MR. FOSTER has been held forth to the public an object of revenge, and has received much unmerited abuse, though men of experience, and commercial knowledge admit, that society has been much benefited by his endea-

vours; in promoting the true interests of trade and commerce; in proof thereof, I have adduced facts which will appear evident to men of candour, impartiality and discernment.

IN Lord Buckingham's administration, MR. FOSTER liberated Irish Manufactures from all duties on exportation, many of which were before subject to the custom-duty of five per cent. on being exported, the favourable effects of which are manifest.

2. HE obtained bounties on the export of all kind of Silk Manufacture, to reimburse the duty paid on the import of raw materials.

3. HE obtained six-pence per ounce on the export of Gold and Silver manufactured here.

4. HE proposed for a Free Trade four or five months before the Parliament addressed for it.

5. HE

5. HE gained bounties on the export of our Linens and Sail-cloth, which he extended to printed Linens and Cheques.

6. HE obtained a bounty of eight thousand pounds per annum, to be paid out of the hereditary revenue, to encourage the growth of Flax-feed in this kingdom; he further encouraged it by a duty of six-pence per gallon on imported Linseed-oil, and applied the produce of this duty solely to the production of Flax-feed.

7. HE obtained liberty for the merchant to ware-house his Tobacco, and bond the duties; and laid the foundation of a commercial intercourse between America and this kingdom.

8. HE effected the Partnership Bill.

9. HE declared openly on the Treasury-Bench, that English Laws ought not to bind Ireland.

10. HE

10. HE declared in his office at the Custom-house, that he knew of no Law in force here, but the Law of the Irish Parliament; and he supported his opinion in admitting an Entry in opposition to an English Law.

11. HE got a full draw-back of all the Excise Duties, to encourage and promote the exports of our spirits.

12. HE regulated the wages advantageously in the Silk Trade.

13. HE was materially active in founding the National Bank upon favourable principles.

14. To him we are indebted for the Treasury Bill.

15. HE improved upon, and changed the tendency of the Exchequer Bill, for the good of Ireland.

16. IN the Sugar Regulation, he was of opinion, that five shillings was
not

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not a sufficient — Experience has
confirmed this op.

17. He protected our Manufactures
against the perils of the last
war, by allowing the import of Silk,
Barilla, and various materials of Ma-
nufactures from all countries in all
ships.

18. He prevented the export of
tools and Cotton Trade, in the Wool, Silk

19. By his means, the duties on To-
bacco are kept one-fourth lower than
in Britain.

20. He continued the trade with
the captured islands.

21. His Address was so dextrous
and successful, as to make Ireland the
landing place between Europe and
America.

22. He established a tax on English
Beer.

23. In

23. In order to conserve the infant Cotton Manufactures, he obtained a duty of six-pence per yard on all Calicoes.

24. He countenanced an Irish generous and laudable undertaking, which, though its success raised the price of Iron wire, it checked, if not suppressed, the importation of that article from Holland.

25. He created a duty of forty shillings per ton, on vinegar imported from France.

26. He regulated the Gold Manufacture.

27. UNDER his auspices, the calculations of duties were rendered more easy, by being freed from discounts on imports; and the removal of these very discounts, is a large and extensive Protecting Duty.

28. The Bounties on Linens, have been by him extended to all Linens of whatever

whateer breadths, that every foreign marke may be suited; and fifteen thousand pounds have been granted, on his motion, to pay the bounties on the sale of our manufactures.

29. He has established an efficient and more favourable system of Corn-laws. The former Corn-laws prohibited the import, till the price was far beyond the poor manufacturers reach, viz. thirty-six shillings the barrel for Wheat: Mr. FOSTER'S Bill allows the import at twenty-seven shillings; the old law allowed Corn to rise to thirty-six shillings: Mr. FOSTER'S Bill, will, when Corn is dear, give the manufacturer as much Bread for twenty-seven shillings, as he could get before for thirty-six shillings; and, in all probability, Mr. FOSTER'S Bill will not suffer the Corn to rise to twenty-seven shillings. The very great saving and advantages which result from this Bill to the industrious poor, are self-evident; yet Mr. FOSTER has been reprobated and condemned by the unthinking populace,

populace, for reducing the quantity of Bread, and raising its price!

30. HE successfully opposed the scheme of a few individuals, by getting a bounty to carry away by sea, from the industrious inhabitants of Dublin, all that Corn and Flour which costs the nation so much money to bring to Dublin by land carriage for their use. These facts, with many others, abundantly prove that Mr. FOSTER's whole time has been employed for the good of this country, notwithstanding he has been ashly and wantonly abused, because he, from wise and prudent principles, voted against a protecting duty, comprehending the Woollen Manufacture, the very unfavourable tendency and bad policy of which, Mr. FOSTER proved, to the conviction of a large and respectable majority of the House of Commons: And the Right Hon. Mover of the above Bill, is now also said to be convinced of the force of Mr. FOSTER's Observations and Arguments; by which it also appeared, that

that this Kingdom would sustain, by the success of the above measure, the loss of an annual influx of five hundred thousand pounds.

MR. FOSTER has been censured for not obeying the Instructions of his Constituents; but the majority of the Freeholders of the County of Louth did not instruct him. This case proves the inconvenience and futility of the doctrine of Members implicitly obeying the will and caprice of their Constituents, as if they were puppets; a doctrine that would render debate nugatory, and jarring factions would by opposite principles retard the business of the Nation. The public business, says a genuine friend of liberty, must be carried on with a certain motion, neither too quick nor too slow; but the motion of the people is always either too remiss or too violent—sometimes with one hundred thousand arms, they overturn all before them, and sometimes with one hundred thousand feet, they creep like insects.

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WITH respect to the Woollen Manufacture, the Irish have an undoubted right of wearing and consuming their own Manufactures; and to enter into such resolutions as may appear favourable to their Trade and Commerce; on which principle, the English can do the same; but the interference of Parliament on the above business, was a serious and very delicate point, and if insisted on, the most distressing consequences might take place, to the ruin of thousands in this country.

IF Mr. FOSTER is the ostensible Minister of this country, we must acknowledge he has had a considerable share in the construction and modification of forty-three Bills, which have passed the house a few days ago: These Bills have been obviously calculated to promote the commercial interest and prosperity of this country; which our Viceroy has at heart, notwithstanding the shafts of virulence and licentiousness that are continually levelled at him—"I see, (says his Lordship) with pleasure, the exertions of a humane

humane and liberal principle, which has prompted you to give encouragement to national industry by favourable regulations and *well-directed bounties*. I have warmly at heart the advancement of your trade, and the success of all your manufactures, and I shall not fail either to consider or to represent those instances, whereof the particular circumstances of the empire have hitherto prevented a full investigation, and which shall be found to require a further adjustment."

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS has been always considered the principal source of the superior degree of freedom and civilization of the British dominions: Notwithstanding precedents are not wanting, by which we find, that the most mischievous effects have taken place from its abuse, and that the public have been often wrong, and mistaken, in taking a precipitate part, and thereby becoming the dupes and instruments of licentious printers, incendiaries, and people of desperate fortune.

THE

THE most furious demagogues must admit, that printers, like other men, are fallible, and liable to err, and abuse the great trust in their care and management, and therefore they ought, like their fellow citizens, to be amenable and responsible to the laws of the country.

IF printers could elude the cognizance of the law, they might and would probably become the weightiest grievance of society. If printers could with impunity abuse and wantonly arraign men in power and high in office, and inflame the minds of the people to party and faction, anarchy and misrule would often trample upon the best and wisest government, and the peace of individuals would be exposed to the effects of malice, which would often violate every moral and sacred obligation.

THE popular plea in favour of the Liberty of the Press is, that it is too sacred to be meddled with, too delicate for the touch of justice ; that it is of so important

important and indefinite a nature, as not to admit a line of distinction, and that therefore it is more safe to suffer a partial injury than violate this sacred temple, this wonderful palladium, from whence the happiness and independence of the body politic immediately proceed.

THE above plea and reasoning appear futile, when it is considered, that the Abuse of the Press and its licentiousness, strike directly at the safety and peace of the community. Futile also, appears the *Argument*, that the Liberty of the Press should be above the reach of justice, because *Revolutions* have been the consequence of it.

THERE has not been a government framed since the creation of the world, whose destruction has not been desired (however perfect and happy it might be) by men of desperate fortune, and vicious principles. A Revolution of our happy constitution, the admiration and the envy of the world, can be only sought for, by its natural enemies, and
that

that kind of people, who would wish for an opportunity of scrambling, in the desolated *harvest* of anarchy and rapine, to promote which they incessantly labour to disunite and set people at variance. Incendiaries, and the enemies of the constitution, set every practice and engine at work to destroy peace and unanimity by confusion and strife, which they create by lies and false insinuations. The best characters are the objects of their poisoned arrows, and the best qualities and intentions they misconstrue, and aggravate every circumstance, however well and judiciously meant, that might happen to turn to disadvantage. To disturb the peace of the community is their chief hope, to effect which, they rail at the king's ministers, ascribing to them the basest and most treacherous qualities; they are, according to them, the source of every inconvenience and misfortune, real and imaginary, which affects the nation. They have lately given an unbounded loose to every bad quality of the mind, and have exercised the most daring and pernicious schemes.

Magistracy

Magistracy has been abused—injuries have been invented and amplified, to answer interested motives, as well as to divide the people, and render them an easy prey to their natural enemies.

MR. FOSTER'S bill has been prudently and wisely calculated to suppress the licentiousness of the Press, without interfering with, or obstructing its necessary and constitutional liberty; it has been calculated to preserve good government, and the peace of individuals. Many would prefer *peace of mind* to property itself; the laws amply guard the latter: but previous to Mr. FOSTER'S bill, we had but a precarious defence for our peace.

WHEN we reflect, and view a gentleman of the first abilities and application, accurately and successfully employing them for the good of society, dragged, like a malefactor, into a public paper, and there in the most ignominious representation, hanged, cut down, and treated with every species of studied malice and degradation,

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every man of spirit and humanity, every lover of his country should consider the laws violated and profaned—they should unite to suppress the extraordinary and unprovoked authors of so much unmerited slander, sedition, and licentiousness—and retard the career of the dangerous turbulence thence resulting.

Those who disturb the public tranquillity, have been, by every state, held enemies of it, and punished by imprisonment, exile, and other chastisements, calculated to reclaim turbulent spirits, and obliging them to conform to the established order. In the last century it was a tragic, but, according to a celebrated author, a droll spectacle, to behold the impotent efforts of the English towards the establishment of a democracy. As the prevailing parties were successively animated by the spirit of faction, the government was continually changing—the people, astonished at so many *Revolutions*, in vain attempted to erect a commonwealth. At length, when the country had been almost

almost spoiled by the most violent shocks, they were obliged to have recourse to the very government which they had so wantonly proscribed. Hence it has been said, that the English are never weaker, nor easier overcome, than in their own country; an observation, which would be groundless, were they less addicted to party and faction.

MR. FOSTER'S elevated situation, and the confidence which hath been reposed in him, from his integrity, abilities and experience, could not fail of creating much envy and opposition, the attacks of which, appear malicious and groundless.

MR. FOSTER'S enemies make him responsible, and censure him, for not having carried measures into execution, which he could not have done if he had been absolute monarch of Ireland. The effects of the want of employment of manufacturers, have been attributed to him, though his chief object and care were to raise our manu-

factures to the best and most advantageous state.

It has been often said of the Irish, that they are not quite as industrious as they ought to be, and that they are easily (the working people) tempted to quit their business, and spend more of their wages, than the situation of their families could afford. If this observation is founded, the consequence is obvious.

EMIGRATION has been alleged as a consequence of the want of employment. The sober and industrious manufacturers will have no occasion to transport themselves from their native and well-regulated country: those who are not, and prefer going to America, will probably wish they had exerted themselves at home under the auspices of a mild and free government.

WHEN ships have arrived at America with mechanics, manufacturers and labourers aboard, under the denomination of redemptioners, purchasers appear,

pear, like horse-jockies at a fair; they examine the age, health and strength of these misled adventurers, (who imagine their fortunes will be quickly made) and chuse a lot of the most robust and useful from amongst them; the proprietor complains that the purchaser has chosen the flower of his cargo, and for which he must pay; the bargain is concluded, generally on the presumption, that these people will have their liberty and be their own *masters* at the expiration of a few years. They are forthwith driven into the country, two, three, or four hundred miles, to the destined working-places, and each individual is supplied with a coarse suit of a peculiar kind of working dress, which is to serve for one year, but is generally worn out before half that time, and they are put to labour, and kept to it, not unfrequently by the superintendance of a negroe. Their condition from one to a greater degree of labour and toil encreases to such a height of severity, that they are generally at length obliged to purchase a remission from incessant and unsupportable

portable fatigue with the sale of themselves for life.

MR. FOSTER must be allowed to know what was in his power to effect for the benefit of Ireland, and also, what he could not accomplish. His enemies have condemned, reproached, or forgotten what he has done, and they have censured him for not doing what was out of his power. They have perverted themselves to the basest acts, and arts of misrepresentation, in order to render him odious and unpopular, which appeared in the House of Commons lately; it was manifest that the several reports and assertions of the news-papers, which were devised to raise suspicion and commotion in Newry and other places, as well as to depreciate Mr. FOSTER, were void of foundation or truth.

IN a country like this, where genuine liberty flourishes, and where every individual is taught to consider himself the inheritor and possessor of it, it is not surprising that people should be
alarmed

alarmed when any innovation had been reputed to take place.

POLITICAL Liberty does not, according to the most eminent men who have written on the subject, consist in an unlimited freedom; for in societies directed, and subsisting by Laws, it can consist only in the power of doing what we ought to will, and in not being *constrained* to do what we ought not to will. Liberty is a right of doing whatever the laws permit; for if a citizen could do what they forbid, his fellow-citizens could do the same; hence there would be an end of liberty and government. Philosophical liberty consists in the free exercise of the will, or at least, in the opinion that we have the free exercise of our will. Political liberty, in security, or at least in the opinion that we enjoy security—this security is never more dangerously attacked than in *public or private accusations—it is therefore on the goodness of criminal laws that the liberty of the subject principally depends*; it consists also in a tranquillity of mind, arising from the opinion each person

person has of his safety, in consequence of the efficacy of wise and prudent laws; therefore, in order to enjoy the blessings of this liberty, one man should not be afraid of another.

POLAND, in grasping at independence, lost its liberty.

THE great are always obnoxious to popular envy, and were they to be judged by the people, they must be in danger from their judges, and would also be deprived of the privilege which the meanest subject is possessed of in a free state, of being tried by his peers; for security is as much the right of the governors as the governed; but the security of the former is always endangered by public accusations, unfounded, and generally calculated for seditious purposes.

WANTON and libellous attacks upon parliament tend to so much danger, that it has been by the wisest legislators judged necessary, that the most effectual steps which the law has

has provided, should be enforced to counteract and punish them. The power and jurisdiction of parliament, according to Sir Edward Coke, is so transcending and absolute, that it cannot be confined either for causes or persons within any bounds; and he adds: "*Si antiquitatem spectes, est vetustissima; si dignitatem, est honoratissima; si jurisdictionem, est capacissima.*" Hence it is necessary and essential to the liberties of the kingdom, that such members be delegated to this important trust, as are most eminent for their probity, their fortitude, and their knowledge.

LIBELS, a few years ago, became so alarming, from the result of party and faction, that it was resolved by both Houses of the English Parliament, that the writing and publishing Libels ought not to be entitled to privilege, which resolutions were relative to the Members themselves.

THE spreading of false news, to create discord between the King and Nobility,

Nobility, or concerning any great man of the realm, is punishable by common law with fine and imprisonment, according to various statutes.

BESIDES actual breaches of the peace, any thing that tends to provoke, or excite others to break it, is an offence of the above denomination; as also Libels, *Libelli Famosi*, which signify any Writings, Pictures, or the like, being illegal, are to be considered as malicious defamations of any person, and especially a Magistrate, when made public, either by Printing, Writing, Signs or Pictures, in order to provoke him to wrath, or expose him to public hatred, contempt and ridicule. The direct tendency of these Libels, is by law considered a breach of public peace, by stirring up the objects of them to revenge, and perhaps to bloodshed. It also appears, from the most approved and learned law authorities, that it is immaterial with respect to the essence of a Libel, whether the matter of it be true or false, since the provocation, and not the falsity,

sity, is the thing to be punished criminally; though doubtless the falsehood of it may aggravate its guilt, and enhance its punishment.

IN a civil action, a Libel must appear to be false as well as scandalous; for if the charge be true, the Plaintiff has received no private injury, and has no right to compensation: but in a criminal prosecution, the tendency which all Libels have to create animosities, and to disturb the public peace, is the sole consideration of the law; and therefore in this case, the only points to be considered, are, first, the making or publishing of the Book or Writing; and secondly, whether the matter be criminal: and if both these points are against the Defendant, the offence against the Public is complete. The punishment of such Libellers, for either making, repeating, printing or publishing the Libel, is *fine*; and such *corporal punishment* as the court in its discretion shall inflict:—Blasphemous, immoral, treasonable, schismatical, seditious and scandalous Libels, are punished

punished with *different degrees of severity*, according to circumstances; and thus *the Liberty of the Press is rather supported than infringed*.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS is truly essential to a Free State, which consists in laying no previous restraints, but by no means in a freedom from censure for criminal matters when published. Every man has a right to publish what sentiments he pleases to the world; but if he publishes what is illegal or seditious, the law holds him accountable. It is necessary for the preservation of peace, and good order of government and religion, (the only foundations of Civil Liberty) to punish according to law dangerous writings, which may be adjudged of a pernicious tendency.

THE will of individuals is still left free; the abuse of it is the object of legal punishment—the disseminating of sentiments destructive of, and inimical to Society, is the offence which Society corrects.

PREVIOUS

PREVIOUS to Mr. FOSTER's Bill, the Printers and Publishers of Newspapers could elude judicial authority, for calumniating the best characters, and wounding the peace of individuals, but are *now* responsible and *accessible* as well as their fellow citizens, for transgressing the law. "A man may keep poisons (says an elegant writer) in his closet, but not vend them as cordials." The guarding effectually against the Licentiousness of the Press, is the true and only way of preserving its Liberty.

NOT any thing can be more insidious and glaring, than the intention of disappointed and designing men, in England and in Ireland, in attempting to raise suspicion and jealousy of the VOLUNTEERS in the breast of Government; and to irritate that great and respectable body of people, and to prejudice the Military in pay against them.

THE

THE History of the World, cannot produce so extraordinary and honourable a fact as this, viz. That upwards of fifty thousand VOLUNTEERS have been disciplined, and in arms, those six years; and during that period, no commotions, disorder or licentiousness, have happened in that body, to disturb the public tranquillity, or the safety of the State, which, at their own expence, they have gloriously protected. All human institutions are liable to err; and if the VOLUNTEERS have erred, it was in this extraordinary particular, of inviting and receiving plebeians, and the dregs of Society, into their corps; for it is not probable that such people can be civilized and reformed, independent of strict discipline, subordination and punishment, which are repugnant to the principles of Volunteers; nor is it to be supposed, that they can easily prevail upon themselves to resume their former state, and habits of labour and drudgery, after having been accustomed to relaxation and idleness, and impressed with imaginary ideas of independence and equality.

equality. Rome was mortally wounded by armed plebeians; and it is a maxim which has been fatally established, that those who have no property of their own, are generally the readiest to attack that of others.—Doth not this observation suggest a proof of the bad policy of arming the common people—The Goths over-run Spain.

THE contagion of arming has become epidemic, and, if persisted in, cannot fail of creating jealousy, not only to the government, but to other neighbouring powers; to whom it will be a pretext for following the example; which consequence may produce effects of the most dangerous nature. By augmenting armed men, we shall all be soldiers; and probably be reduced to the very same situation as the Tartars; and thus according to a Great Civilian, become poor with the riches and commerce of the whole world.

THOSE who are eternally endeavouring to alienate the affection and
loyalty

loyalty of the People from the English Constitution, and to create sedition and discord, are interested in its destruction, or have been employed to effect these purposes by the natural enemies of the Constitution. America's success has been held up as an inducement to the People to follow her example. America is three thousand miles distant from this Kingdom; and is a great Continent. Troops could not be expeditiously, or on an emergency conveyed there. The situation and case of America is dissimilar to ours; they are not as we are, insulated and cooped up; they had a great scale to act on,—they had it in their power to chuse their best time,—the best situation and advantages to come to engage,—they had retreats, we had none,—we have not an armed ship; a few armed vessels would sever us from every external connection and support, as it is not probable that France or Spain would risque a sea engagement on the English coast;—troops accustomed to battle and slaughter, would not be easily overcome. Many of the

VOLUNTEERS

VOLUNTEERS would not find the trial very pleasing, of extricating themselves from their families, abandoning tolerable habitations and competence, to encounter every species of toil, watching, disease, camp-duty, and constant marching, under the control and severity of military law and discipline, though their courage were equal to any nation existing. The absence of mechanics and husbandmen from trade and agriculture, would be productive of the worst effects. Force and violence would become the only ways and means; industry would be ruined. If France interfered, it could only be on principles and terms not very favourable to us in the hour of distress.

THE Irish are brave; the English are not less so; and as the issue and success of war is doubtful, I will be admitted to suppose, the VOLUNTEERS might be conquered, (the idea of carnage of friends, relations and fellow subjects, inspire horror!) in that case, widows and orphans would obstruct the highways—what defence could the

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guilty

guilty promoters of such irreparable calamity make before the Tribunal of Justice, for the havock and desolation they had occasioned? Industry destroyed—men of property ruined—wives, maids and children, at the mercy of a violent soldiery; for civil wars have been always marked with desolation and horror.

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS have given many proofs of their loyalty and attachment to the present establishment, in consequence of their having been considered as subjects.—They have pledged themselves most solemnly to support the State, and to assist it against foreign and domestic enemies: from the inconveniencies and disabilities they have laboured under during a century, rather than violate their consciences, their oath of allegiance had weight and confidence.

THERE is no nation, says Livy, that has been longer uncorrupted than

than the Romans; no nation where moderation and poverty have been longer respected. Such was the influence of an oath among that people, that nothing bound them stronger to the laws: they often did more for the observance of an oath, than they would even have performed for the thirst of glory, or the love of their country. When Quintus Concinnatus, the Consul, wanted to raise an army in the city against the *Æqui* and the *Volsci*, the Tribunes opposed him: "Well," said he, "let all those who have taken an oath to the council of the preceding year, march under my banner." In vain did the Tribunes cry out, that this oath was no longer binding, and that when they took it, Quintus was but a private person. The people were more religious than those who pretended to direct them; they would not listen to the distinctions or equivocations of the Tribunes. If those people held an oath so sacred, and preserved their virtue and honour so inviolate, independent of the great lights of Christianity,

Christianity, can we have any doubt of the sincerity of Christians?

THE Roman Catholics of property are now interested in the peace, happiness and preservation of the state; and no doubt would give every aid within their power, to keep those, over whom they have influence, in proper order. Immense and numerous sums of money, which, while the penal laws were in force, were hoarded up, have been, in consequence of the relaxation of those laws, brought into, and increased the general circulation.

THOSE who are busy in raising suspicion and jealousy of the conduct and loyalty of Irish Catholics, cannot be considered as friends of the state; the enemies of which, employ paragraphists to promote sedition and discontent. Lord Kenmare did not appear to have considered the nature and consequence of his proposition to the Roman Catholic Committee, or, in justice to his Lordship's eminent character and qualities, we must conclude, he would not have

have proposed it. As there was no official charge made against the Roman Catholics, nor overt act of their disloyalty or detachment from their professions of loyalty adduced or specified, they could not, in consequence of anonymous attacks, unsupported and groundless, with honour and dignity to themselves, repeat these professions, and come forth on every occasion, that an incendiary might arraign them in a Newspaper: But if any part of their conduct was made appear to tend to the disturbance of the public tranquillity, or the danger of the state, they would be wrong in not coming forth to justify themselves, otherwise they would not be worthy of the participation of the toleration which has been adopted in every state in Europe.

It was apprehended that a junction of people of different religious principles, with the Protestant Volunteer army, would be attended with disagreeable consequences, the contrary of which, we find from experience, is a fact. Roman Catholics of good character,

rafter, and competency in point of property, (for people destitute of these, of whatever profession, should not be entrusted with arms) have every where been united with Protestant Corps; which lucky circumstance, hath had the happy effects of obliterating prejudices and erroneous ideas, which were planted in infancy: habituated to mutual acts of friendship and benevolence, they are attracted into a more intimate intercourse, and find themselves mutually interested in each other's prosperity; and therefore equally concerned and affected in the prowess and prosperity of the constitution. The Repeal of the Penal Laws was critical; their effects almost desolated a country in spite of nature. The bravest of the people forsook a country, where law galled them, and they added vigour to *France* and *America*; till at length a flame was kindled, which has circumscribed the glory and dominion of the British empire.

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THE Roman Catholics laboured under two species of tyranny—one was real, which arose from oppression, the other was seated in opinion;—they both conspired to make the objects miserable—they could not be worse—it was therefore policy to relieve them.

IT is demonstrated, that the Manufacturers of the City of Dublin, were imposed upon and misinformed; they were ignorant of those facts which have been stated in the beginning of this little Pamphlet. They did not know that Mr. FOSTER had been incessantly labouring and devising expedients, to render the commerce and the manufactures of this kingdom every service and encouragement within his reach and capacity, to give them energy and vigour.

It is not at once, or suddenly, that men can emerge from slender beginnings, and little capitals, to high trade. Sobriety, peace and perseverance,

rance, are the means that will securely and infallibly lead to ease, competence and independence: abstracted from these, manufacturers must always remain in poverty, anxiety and distress. From the complexion and professions of the present administration, we have a foundation of the best hopes; and I am persuaded, that if we endeavour by industry, integrity and obedience to the commercial rules, regulations, and laws of the country, to help ourselves, we will find patronage and protection from the mother country; whose immediate interest it is, to preserve a federal and friendly intercourse with Ireland. Jealousies and anxieties will arise in the breasts of the dearest friends—those who labour to widen the breach, aim at the destruction of both parties.—This country is improving rapidly; and if our infant manufactures, free commerce, and flourishing agriculture, are NURTURED IN THE LAP OF PEACE, Ireland will in a few years, be as well improved, as fertile, and happy an island, as any in the universe.

F I N I S.